1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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CHAPTER IV.

KÛRDISH WOMEN: THEIR FOLK-POESY.—FOLK-TALES.

538 171 THE tales and legends told by the Kûrds are of an extremely varied character. Among them are many charming *märchen*, some of which closely resemble Greek or Teutonic favourites, and delightful fables, or stories of animals, which seem to be but Oriental variants of those contained in the collections of Æsop, La Fontaine, and other fabulists. There are also stories of buried treasure, guarded by *djins*, or genii, touching love tales, and innumerable legends describing tribal exploits and feuds, deeds of violence and reprisals. The latter class, though not strictly folk-tales in the accepted sense of the term, illustrate so much more graphically than any description could do the manners and sentiments of this wild and independent people, that I have ventured to include one or two of them in this chapter.

The first story is evidently a variant of the Tinote Greek folk-tale of "Constantes and the Drakos,"[1] the opening incident of reaping the field of corn being precisely identical. The *Dev* appears to be the Kûrdish equivalent of the English "Giant," Scandi-

[1] Κωνσταντῆς κ' ὁ Δράκος, Hahn (J. G. von). Νεοελληνικὰ Παραμύθια, p. 196; and *Märchen*, ii. p. 182.

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navian "Troll," Indian "Rakshasa," and Greek Δράκος (Drakos),[1] a ferocious but simple-minded monster, who is usually outwitted by a clever mortal, the youngest of three brothers, or a widow's son.

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The Three Brothers and the Dev.[2]

There once lived in a certain place three brothers. The name of the youngest was Hasanek, that of the second Qasim, and that of the eldest Shaban. Now it happened that each had a sickle, and Hasanek said to his brothers, "Come along, we will leave this country and go to that of another tribe where we can work and get good wages."

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So the three set off. They went to the uplands, and there they found a field of wheat. Said Hasanek to his brothers, "Come, let us set to work and cut this wheat, it has no doubt an owner who will pay us."

So the three went to the field, and they stooped down and began to cut the wheat. When they had been cutting for two days, Hasanek saw a cave; it was the cave of a Dev, who came out immediately, and shouted and said, "Who are you? Why do you cut my wheat? I will come and eat the heads of all three of you!"

Said Hasanek to his brothers, "Do not be frightened, there is a Dev; he is coming towards us, saying, 'Who are you, and why do you cut my wheat?' Do not speak either of you, but let me answer the Dev."

[1] Incorrectly translated by the late Mr. Geldart as "dragon." See vol. i. p. 355, *note*, and compare Dozon, *Chants Pop. Bulgares*, No. 8.

[2] Lerch, *Forschungen über die Kurden*, p. 49.

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eldest daughter of the Dev to his brother Shaban, and 539
the second to his brother Qasim, and they all three settled down and lived in peace ever after.[1]

The following pathetic little story recalls Grimm's 536
Brüderchen und Schwesterchen, and also the Epirote 171
Greek folk-tale of Ἀστρονὸς καὶ τὸ Πουλιῶ ("Starbright and Birdie"), although in the Kūrdish version the cannibalistic element is absent.

The Legend of the Owl (Gō'in).[2]

Once upon a time, there lived a man and his wife, 539
who had one son and one daughter. The wife died, and the man soon after married another. After two years had passed, and the second wife had a daughter of her own, she began to hate the children of the first wife.

The girl used to go out to tend the cattle. One evening when she returned home she missed her brother, and asked her stepmother where he was.

The woman replied, "Thy brother has gone to his uncle's house."

The girl went to sleep, and in her dream she saw that her brother had been killed and his body thrown into a pit. In the morning she rose and said to her father,

"Father, I dreamt last night that thy wife killed my brother, and threw his body into a pit. I will now go out with the cattle, and if I find my brother

[1] The story does not say what became of the Dev's wife, but most probably the Dev had killed her when he went home in a rage.

[2] Lerch, *Forschungen, &c.*, p. 80.

1: Garnett B-4, 5 (ca. 1880) 1891
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him to the grave and buried him. He then returned 539
home, cut off the head of his wife, and threw her into a pit.

The murdered boy's sister came home in the evening. When she saw neither her brother nor her stepmother, she asked, "Father, where is thy wife?"

"I know not," he replied, "but thy brother is dead."

When the maiden heard this she wept, and went away. Going down to the brook side, she bathed and prayed twice.

"Oh, Allah! Change me into an owl!"

And she was at once transformed into that sad bird. She flew up and away and was seen there no more.

The following story will recall at once the wide- 538
spread nursery tale of "Puss in Boots. As in the 171
Sicilian version of this story, mentioned by Mr. Lang,[1] the Fox, from motives of gratitude, undertakes to make the Miller's fortune, but his endeavours are defeated by the cowardice of the pretended "Temtequ Pasha."

How the Fox Wooed for the Miller the Daughter of the Pasha of Egypt.[2]

There once lived a Miller in a certain country, and 539
plenty of grist came to his mill. One evening he stopped the mill, went into his house, and slept. In the morning, on going again into the mill, he found the trough empty. So on the following night, instead of sleeping, he kept watch, and about midnight

[1] *Perrault's Tales.* Introduction, p. lxxiii.
[2] Lerch, *Forschungen, &c.*, p. 83.

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The Pasha said, "Go, bring him in." 539

So the Fox brought in the Miller's body, washed it, and buried it.

The following fable is precisely similar in its commencement to the familiar one of "The Fox and the Stork." The incident of the Mollah's fur pelisse is, however, quite an Oriental feature, and the final catastrophe is familiar to me as occurring in another Eastern story, the nationality of which I do not, unfortunately, remember. 538 171

The Fox, the Eagle, and the Wolf.[1]

Once upon a time a Fox and an Eagle lived on brotherly terms. One day the Fox said to the Eagle, "I will prepare a feast for you." 539

So the Eagle went to the house of the Fox, whom he found preparing the meal. When it was ready, the Fox placed the meat on a shallow dish, and invited the Eagle to fall to, saying, "Brother, eat!" But, peck at the dish as he would, the Eagle could not secure a morsel, while his host ate with ease.

Then said the Eagle to the Fox, "Come with me; get on my back, and I will take you to my house."

So the Fox got on the Eagle's back, and the Eagle rose high into the air. Presently he saw a Mollah kneeling on his fur-lined pelisse, at his prayers, and threw the Fox down upon him. The Mollah, terrified, ran off, leaving his pelisse, which the Fox promptly put on, and went his way.

[1] Lerch, *Forschungen, &c.*, p. 46.

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of his hole, he looks about for the Wolf, but, not 539
seeing him, he ventures forth, and seizes the gourd, which he ties to his tail. By-and-by he goes to the fountain, and, his tail hanging over the side, the gourd falls into the water, and the Fox, in his efforts to pull it out again, tumbles in himself.

The transcriber of the next story, M. Jaba, suggests 538
that "Sāri-Salté" must have been an old Crusader, who 171
knew of the existence of the treasure, and had come from Europe, disguised as a dervish, to secure it. I venture, however, to think it much more probable that he was the famous warrior-monk, Sāri-Saltík, one of the Moslem "Saints" who took part in the Ottoman Conquest, and of whom many extraordinary legends are related by the Turks.[1]

The Armenian and the Dervish.[2]

An Armenian named Sātir once lived in the town 539
of Begirīv, which is situated in one of the *kazas* 286
(districts) of Van. One day a wandering dervish was passing through the town, and received hospitality in the house of this Armenian. By the will of Allah, this dervish, whose name was Sāri-Salté, fell sick, and remained a long time confined to his bed in the house of his host, who, with his wife and all the people of his household, took the greatest care of him. Every possible attention was paid to the dervish Sāri-Salté.

[1] Some of these legends are to be found in the *Narrative* of Evliya Effendi, published by the Oriental Translation Fund. Among other feats the saint destroyed a seven-headed monster, and delivered a king's daughter whom he was about to devour. He is said to have travelled about from country to country, borne over the sea on his dervish's sheepskin mat.

[2] *Recueil de Notices et Recits Kourdes*, p. 94.

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538 altering it in any way. The incidents it describes are
114 totally unlike those of Kürdish stories generally, and are probably derived from real occurrences, but belonging to a date far anterior to that assigned by the story-
[17h] teller, who, with the supreme disregard for accuracy manifested by persons of his calling in the East, would refer any remarkable story to the immediate ancestors of the favourite Kürdish hero, Suleiman Baba, if he could not refer them to the hero himself without being convicted of a too glaring anachronism. It may possibly be a survival of some story of chivalry belonging to the crusading age of Saladin, whom the Kürds declare to have been a prince of their race.

A parallel to this legend may also be found in the
[17i] Greek folk-tale of Ἡ βασίλισσα ποὺ πάγαινε στὸν πόλεμο, "The Princess who went to the War."[1]

The Maiden Champion.

539 There lived once in Durishmana two brothers, Fakih Ahmed and Khidder, who had suffered much from the hostility of the Dullassis, the most powerful people of Pishder. Fakih Ahmed, who was of a bold and proud spirit, quitted his village in disgust, swearing never to return to it unless he should be in a position to avenge himself. He went to Constantinople, and entered the service of the Sultan.

It so happened that the Sultan was at that time at war with the English (or Franks). In those days battles were generally decided by single combat. A champion had come forth from the Frankish host

[1] Von Hahn, Griechische Märchen, p. 37; and Absolon, i. p. 114.

bound to it by strong ties. In contrast, in the families 593
of the government elite, not those of the town, but others
encountered in different areas of Iraq, the larger family
can break down, sons rebelling against their fathers and
disassociating themselves from their relatives. It is in [762]
the official class, rather than among groups such as the [733]
commoners or aristocrats of Rowandus, that alcoholism and [565]
suicide is found.

It has not been thought necessary to compare the 593
family life of Rowandus at every point with that of other 171
Islamic groups, for that would require material so ex-
tensive that it would double the size of this study and
obscure its central theme. The reader who wishes to do
so may have reference to a number of works, for example,
Edward Lane's remarkably detailed treatment of Egyptian
life in the nineteenth century, and one feels confident
that he will reach an identical conclusion, that the struc-
ture of the family in Rowandus is almost the same as that
found in similar towns in Egypt or Syria.[1] The departures
of Rowandus, for example, cutting the hair of the new head
of a dead man's household, are not large in number and are
wholly in detail. The usages of the townspeople seem to be 171
much less elaborate than those of, say, the inhabitants of 184
Egypt in the nineteenth century, but further investigation
in the Rowandus district which would take into account
the agricultural villages might reveal additional peculiarities.

[1]Lane, 1906.

It is believed that the displacement of the town's population during the first World War has acted to eliminate or submerge local differences which might once have been more striking. At the same time, however, the town, like the great city, levels off the divergent customs, such as that of tattooing, of the persons who migrate there from the countryside. 171 164

could scarcely support itself by robbery alone. It is interesting that the Arab Bedouins, among whom the vendetta and brigandage are just as well marked, are not often accused of being a race of savages and criminals. The Bedouin, unlike the Kurd, has been romanticized rather than condemned by those who have had little experience with him. Kurdish life, to be sure, is not distinguished by its intellectual or artistic achievements, but, by the same token, neither is that of Medieval Scotland, Sicily, or Albania, mountainous regions inhabited by peoples of a similar temperament. The most interesting characteristic of Kurdish culture is the way in which it has been moulded by Islam, and, in this, it exhibits similarities to that of Islamic peoples everywhere. It is mute testimony to the character of Islam and to the force of its protagonists in the Kurdish mountains that the peculiarities which may have obtained in pagan Kurdish society or religion have been so thoroughly submerged into a standard pattern. Aside from minor deviations, one is able to discover little which strikes him as strange or anomalous.

The second object of this study has been the delineation of the impact of the modern state on Kurdish life, and it is necessary to discuss the conclusions reached in this respect in much greater detail than in the first. The Kurds have been subjected, particularly since the Arab conquests, to rulers of one sort or another, the last of whom were the Ottoman Turks, but this control was, for the most part, superficial. Ottoman administration in Kurdistan

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11
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FaBrDa	Total marriages within clans	Between unrelated co-villagers	With strangers	Total
35 13.3%	89 33.7%	62 23%	113 42.8%	264

There is some suggestion that clan endogamy has similar factional implications in this situation as lineage segment endogamy has in the Kurdish system, but that the emphasis centers on the opposition between co-resident clans—witness the discrepancy between 33 percent marriages within own clan vs. 23 percent with unrelated co-villager, in a village where four major and six smaller clans co-reside. Yet Granqvist prefers the standard explanation: " . . . marriage with the father's brother's son is preferred to any other marriage in order to prevent a stranger taking possession of the property and inheritance of the family."[12] This even though her argument is further weakened by the fact that her villagers do not observe the proper Koranic rule[13] of giving both male and female relatives of the same degree a share of inheritance, in the proportion 2:1— " . . . even if it be seldom that a man die without leaving any sons, yet the possibility affects it so far as to allow marriage between the children of brothers to appear specially desirable."[14]

Chapple and Coon offer a theoretical analysis of parallel cousin marriage, with special reference to the Bedouin[15] which, if I have understood their argument correctly, emphasizes the incompatibility of a subordinate son-in-law relation to a non-relative with a system of strong political and economic identification with the lineage segment—in this case seen as composed of father, son, and father's brother. This incompatibility is then resolved by a pattern of establishing the son-in-law relationship with the father's brother, through marriage with a father's brother's daughter. This appears as a rather round-about way of attacking the problem from the point of view developed here; but their discussion indicates that the present viewpoints are not inapplicable to this marriage pattern among the Bedouin.

The points of view expressed above might be summarized briefly. As contrasted to most African systems, marriage patterns among the Moslem peoples of the Middle East are liberated from their role in expressing the relations between segments of a larger lineage system. The potential relevance of these patterns to social structure may then theoretically be utilized in various ways.

12 *Idem*, p. 78, where further references to this view are given.
13 A. S. Tritton, *Islam, Belief and Practices* (London, 1951), p. 66.
14 Granqvist, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
15 E. D. Chapple and C. S. Coon, *Principles of Anthropology* (New York, 1942), pp. 305-306.

3: Barth E-5 (1951) 1954 MA11 Kurd MA11

In many areas of the Middle East, a pattern of close family endogamy and preferential father's brother's daughter marriage has been assumed to be associated with a desire to maintain family property in the face of Koranic rules of inheritance. The apparently exceptionally high frequency of father's brother's daughter marriage among the Kurdish tribes with lineage organization, and possibly among other groups with a similar organization, requires separate explanation. The thesis of this short discussion has been that such a pattern of father's brother's daughter marriage plays a prominent role in solidifying the minimal lineage as a corporate group in factional struggle. Marriages of this type thus serve to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system, *not*, as in most African systems, relative to the relations between whole lineages, but here, on the contrary, relative to the first potential lines of fusion and segmentation within the minimal lineage itself.

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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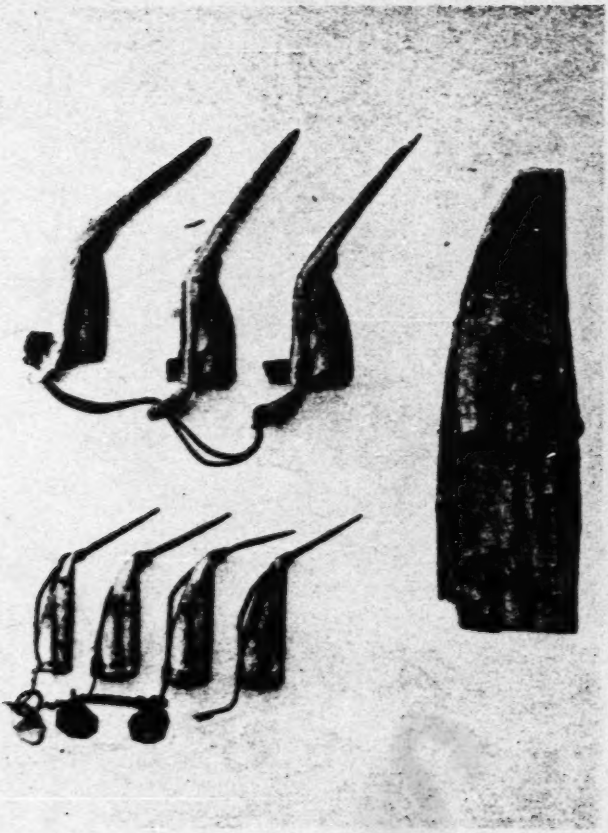

Fig. 9. Harvest claws from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark. Above, Turkish bone claws (M. 566). Below, Kurdish metal claws (E. 2242). To the right, a curved wooden board with rooms for three fingers; from the Luristan, Iran. (E. 527).

243 water from the clay roof of the house after rain. Threshing at the open threshing floors takes place from July to October[41]. It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the flatly-heaped corn[42] three to seven domestic animals, such as donkeys, cows, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was seen used up in the mountains and on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Feilberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifūr, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandū* or *amār*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jūt*, has a plough-share, *gāzin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *kurjār*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Werth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Werth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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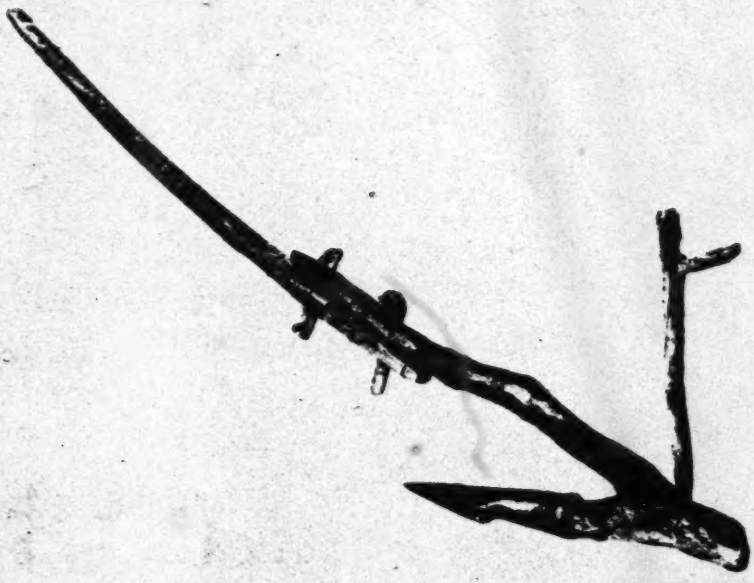

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Topzawa. Sole and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2240).

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is also stressed by Leach[60]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[61].

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The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose.

The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-mouldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[62]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as is the case when transporting corn from the field to the home—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[63]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for

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4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

286 used with this type of weaving. The weft is beaten in with a hand-shaped iron comb fitted with a cylindrical wooden handle mounted at right angles, *kâlkit*[79].

[171] This vertical loom, known also from Armenia[80], is used for the making of the plain-woolle rugs that are used to cover the heaped bedclothes during the day. One such rug (E. 2253), measure 1.48 m. · 2.80 m., has a warp of sheep's wool, *xâri* (?), and a weft of goat's wool, *fôit*. This type o loom I only saw worked by women. So far as I could ascertain there is only one female weaver i each village. At Topzawa the loom was owned by a widow, who apparently possessed no family an [589] kept herself and her daughter by working the loom with the wool spun by the women of the village The loom in the twin village of Rakawa was worked by an elderly woman whose son, with whos she lived, was the village *muxtâr*.

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[171] The horizontal loom is a pit-treadle loom[81]. According to Ling Roth[82] it is the normal Hindu loom. Leach provides an excellently-drawn and thorough description of a loom of this kind in th Rowanduz district[83], though on a few points it differs from the example brought back from Tawell (E. 2249a–v). The loom type is a hand-treadle loom with finite warp. On being set up the floor form a horizontal plane through the loom's mechanism, as certain parts of the loom, such as the warp beam, the raddle-beam, a stand that swings back the sley-reed, and the cloth-beam rest on the ground whilst a pit under the loom houses the treadles and the weaver's legs which are thus below the surface of the floor. At the same time the heddle, counterheddle and sley reed hang from the ceiling over the loom. The cord that keeps the warp taut passes from the warp-beam, fastened to the floor, up to a hook in the ceiling. From there the cord runs down by the side, or rear, of the weaver where it is fastened so close to him that it easily can be loosened, thus prolonging the warp, as the work proceeds[84].

The individual parts of the loom are as follows: Nearest to the weaver is the square-sectioned cloth- or breast-beam, which, in an oblong groove, takes the approx. 0.43 m. long rod, hidden by the wound-up material, to which the warp is fastened. The cloth- or breast-beam, 0.735 m. in length, attached to a pair of small uprights, can be locked at each revolution. The suspended sley-reed can be swung towards the weaver. The sley[85] is a rectangular frame 0.89 m. × 0.29 m. that can be dismantled so that combs or reeds, *šâna*, of various degrees of fineness can be changed. The sley-reed is inserted between two split bamboo sticks, 0.595 m. long, connected with two forked uprights on an 0.83 m. long transverse stick, fastened to the ground, which serves to swing back the sley-reed when this is released by the weaver. The sley-reed is suspended from a rope 2.80 m. long that passes through a hook in the ceiling. The other end of the rope carries two pear-shaped pulley-blocks which again carry by a short rope the heddle and counter heddle, each consisting of two transverse sticks with threads between. In the middle of the heddles there is an eye through which passes the thread of the warp, which is led through a reed in the sley-reed, so that every other warp thread passes through an eye on the one shaft and every other one through an eye on the other. From the lowest transverse stick on the shafts hang two transverse wooden sticks round which leather straps are stretched which in turn carry the treadles, a pair of wooden blocks about 0.25 m. long connected by a transverse stick. By alternately depressing these treadles the warp is divided so that every other warp thread is raised

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

the cloak is purchased ready-made in the city. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment covers the woman's body from brow to feet, completely hiding the dress below it. 291

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with pulled sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957. Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dresses or blouses and skirts. Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles: Bought ready-made in Baghdad. 291 [77]

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an unmarried woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In addition, exceptionally, course silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from Japan. 369 565 291 [439]

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it imperative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put on or taken off in colder or warmer weather. 291 [513] [296] [171]

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The "Kurdish elements" of women's dress viewed in a larger context.

Area	Literature	Examples in the National Museum of Denmark	Trousers	Underskirt	Coat	Waistcoat	Jacket	Caftan	Belt	Headcloth	Veil
Egypt	Lane 1944, 42ff., 48ff.		+		+		+	+	+	+	
Arabia	Musil 1928, 122, 125				+		+		+		
	Dickson 1951, 154ff.	F. 543, 45–47 (Qatar)	+	+	+			+	+	+	
Syria and Palestine	Jouin 1934, 481ff., 501		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	Dalman 1937, figs. 42, 88, 89				+				+	+	
		F. 460a–h (Hama)	+	+	+		+		+		
		F. 453(Hama)			+						
Iraqi Kurdistan	Cf. Edmonds 1957, 87ff.	E. 2333–37, E. 2339–48	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Armenia	Bishop 1891, II, 242, 351		+	+			+	+			+
		M. 409a–d	+				+	+			+
Turkey	Pratzer 1936, 166ff.		+	+		+	+	+	+		
Turkish Kurds		M. 413a–d	+			+	+	+			
		M. 558a–c	+				+	+			
		M. 563a–f	+	+		+	+	+			+
Iran	Chardin 1711, IV, fig. facing p. 158, no. XXIII		+		+			+			
		E. 1474	+		+			+		+	
	Fowler 1841, I, 136. II, Title picture		+		+					+	
Iranian Kurds	Aristova 1958, fig. 1, 3, pag. 226, 235		+		+				+	+	
Bakhtiaris	Bishop 1891, II, 117		+		+						
Lurs	Feilberg 1952, 120ff., figs. 111, 112, 114	F. 346–51	+		+				+	+	

As appears from the table, where an attempt has been made to compare the main elements of Kurdish female costume with that of a similar nature in surrounding areas, the visible trousers of genuine Kurdish dress correspond to those worn in all adjacent territories. The same applies to the kirtle, with the exception of Turkey and Armenia. The long pointed sleeves characteristic of the Kurdish kirtle is paralleled by the costume worn by Arab bedouins and, particularly, in the Syrian-Palestinian dress, from which these sleeves can be presumed to have been derived. The waistcoat of Kurdish women is probably a loan from Turkish costume. The caftan is an accessory to female costume in all regions. The Kurdish tribes in Turkish and Armenian areas are influenced by the kirtle-less dress of

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Turkish women and the Armenian costume with apron, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most clearly paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1474). According to Bishop (1891, I, 216) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1800. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "ballet" skirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2235).

The Lurs in Iran, visited and described by Fellberg, have the same type of trousers-kirtel-caftan costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Fellberg 1952, 119, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Peasant women		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and caftan	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and brow cloth		×		×		(×)		×
III	Head cloth	×	×	×	×	(×)	(×)	×	×
IV	Sash or belt	(×)	(×)	(×)	(×)	×	×	(×)	(×)
V	Footwear	(×)	×			×	×	(×)	(×)
VI	Face veil *abd*	(×)	(×)	(×(	(×)	×	×	×	×
VII	Cotton material			×	×			×	×
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	×	×		(×)	×	×		
IX	Dress changes					×	×		
X	European garments					×	×		

×: The element appears constantly everywhere.
(×): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, is not constant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married woman in all environments. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married woman and constitutes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European frocks.

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Fig. 87. The stationary cradle: a box-shaped bed suspended from a frame. Sulaimani.
Fig. 88. The transportable cradle. A curtain is hung over the transverse beam. Topzawa.

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saw a cradle of this type in use at Balkha, near the Iranian border. On top of the vessel, under the mattress, was a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (E. 1968). This is used by the Uigurs, Ferghana[12]. A quite similar cradle from the Tartars of the Crimea is described and illustrated. This is fitted with a clay vessel and urine tube. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages[13].

The two other patterns of cradles in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from its four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A rag is laid underneath the child which is taken up as soon as it wakes.

The stationary cradle is a hammock converted into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, box-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In the villages the box, which swings from side to side, contained straw, sacks or rags, in Sulaimani a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and cleaner children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress bed on the floor, just like an adult. A similar box-shaped bed (E. 773) has been brought back from Pushtu-speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan. It consists of a double wooden frame, 0.88 m. × 0.50 m. × 0.30 m. with base and sides of wickerwork and a coir rope for suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle in its Kurdish form is also found with the Ossetes[14] and Georgians[15] in the Caucasus. Plous[16] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia[17] and in Turkey[18]. Buschan mentions

[191]

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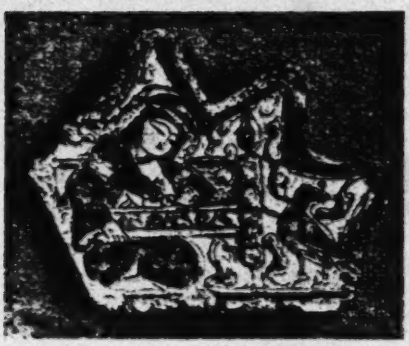

Fig. 89. Fragment of star-shaped tile painted in polychrome "Minai-ware". Found in Rayy. Early 13. century. (Ralph Pinder Wilson, Islamic Art, London 1957, fig. 28). Mother nursing child in a cradle like the Kurdish *byelka*.

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that they can be taken on horseback[19], a thing I also saw done by some passing nomads in Kurdistan. It is depicted by Bishop[20] as an Iranian-Bactrian cradle, and Ploss mentions its use in Iran[21]. Toy cradles made of clay and wood show that this type is also to be found with the Tajiks and Uzbeks[22]. It is met with in Bokhara[23], and the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition brought one back from Afghanistan (E. 1968). They are also in use with the Uigurs, Ferghana[24] and the Kirghiz[25].

Urine tubes of the Kurdish type have been brought back from Turkestan (Q. 72–73). The same type of tube is depicted by Le Coq[26]. Urine tubes (E. 2081–82) were brought back with the cradle from Afghanistan (E. 1968). Such "tubes à urine en bois et en os" are illustrated from Georgia by Pokrowski[27], are mentioned from Armenia by Virchow[28] and from the Crimea by Lorenz[29]. The Kirghiz[30] use them and make them out of the bones of sheep.

Ploss mentions Russian Armenia as the area in which this cradle type originated[31], though this can hardly be correct. It is more probable that its origin must be sought among peoples in Central Asia for whom its portability must have been a most important feature. In my opinion, the rockers are secondary, as with the Kirghiz that feature is lacking in this kind of cradle[32], and the heavy carrying pole, by which the cradle can be lifted, is primary. It is thus a form of portable cradle allied to the cradle trough characteristic of reindeer nomadism, extending from the Lapps in the west to the Indians of the North Pacific coast in the east[33], where it meets another pattern of carrying cradle, the cradle board, that is linked with the snowshoe culture widespread among Amerindians from the Algonkians in the north to the Araucanians in the south, with an offshoot to the Ainos in the northern islands of Japan[34]. Beside the cradle board, basin-shaped cradles of the "sitting type"[35] are found in northern California.

In north and central Asia there are also portable cradles with devices related to the urine tubes in the Kurdish *byelka*. Concerning the Ostyak Pokrowski says that in the oval, box-shaped, portable cradle made of pliable wooden or bark sheets, a box filled with sawdust is placed. If the child is a male, his penis is covered by a piece of bark designed to direct the flow of urine to the foot of the cradle, where it is quickly absorbed by the sawdust[36]. Similar pieces of bark form part of the

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equipment of a portable cradle brought back by Henning Haslund-Christensen from the Solon people in Manchuria[37]. With the Kalmuk a box-shaped cradle is used with a horizontal outlet tube "tsargo"[38] placed in the base. With the Yakut a cradle board on rockers, to which the child is fastened and which at the end is fitted with a tube intended to carry off the urine[39], a form of cradle the principle of which is clearly the same as that of the Kurdish *byeška*[40].

Parallels to the second type, the hammock cradle, consisting of a sack suspended from its four corners, seen in use in Balkha and Halabja, are found in Iran, made of leather with inserted poles[41]. It is also in use in Armenia. It is stated to be formed of a piece of material or garment hung temporarily in a field; this hammock type cradle is said to be more comfortable than the Armenian parallel to the Kurdish *byeška*, and is preferred when the child is ill[42]. In the Caucasus it is wrapped round with broad bands, so that the child is held fast[43], not lying free as in the Kurdish model. The Arab tribes in Syria have hammocks with transverse sticks inserted at both ends[44]. The Ruwalla bedouins in Arabia use as a hammock a shawl hung up in the tent[45]. In Yemen there are hammocks of precisely the same form as the Syrian for use in tents, whilst the leather portable cradle, also in use there, has a semi-circular piece of stiff leather inserted to keep the head of the cradle distended, and a carrying strap that draws the cradle together around the feet of the child[46]. Finally there is something between a hammock and a portable cradle in use among the Tuaregs west of the Niger. This type is produced like a vaulted wooden base with two circular pieces of wood inserted at each end of the cradle in which the child lies fastened[47]. It is hung up in the tent.

Whereas in Kurdistan I only saw a rag placed under the child in a hammock, it is said that Arab nomads in Syria use dried, crumbled camel dung to absorb urin and excrement[48]. With the Ruwalla bedouins the child is smeared or plastered with dry camel dung before being hung up in the tent in a shawl[49].

The third type of Kurdish cradle, the stationary, hanging cradle on a stand, is used in Iran[50]. An Indian cradle in the National Museum (D. 4176) consisting of a stand in which hung a frame, rec-

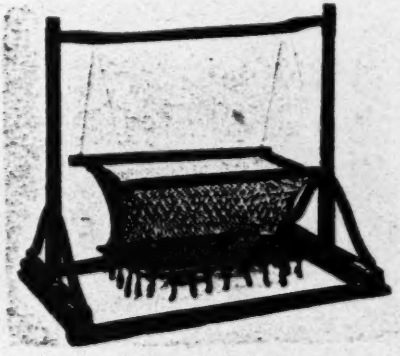

Fig. 90. Indian cradle (D. 4176) in the National Museum of Denmark evinces the same principles as the Kurdish stationary cradle, a box-shaped bed suspended from a wooden frame.

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tangular in form with a flat wooden base and trellised sides, so that a crate results[51], evinces the same principle as the Kurdish hanging cradle. In its simplest and most primitive form this stationary hanging cradle was brought back from the Lurs. It possesses features of both the transportable *byeška* and the stationary frame cradle. The Luristan cradle (E. 289) consists of a "rocking board" composed of two parallel pieces of bamboo to which the child must have been fastened in order to remain lying and particularly to retain the urine tube in position. The cradle has cords at each end and is suspended from a transverse pole resting on two forked sticks[52]. There are two examples of urine tubes, pipe-shaped for a male child (E. 291), and formed like an open canal for a female (E. 290). According to report they are not placed vertically as in the Kurdish *byeška*, but horizontally as in Kalmuk cradles.

[171]

Of the three types of cradles used in Kurdistan, all of which are also used in Iran, the portable one seems to be a nomadic element deriving from the nomad tribes of Central Asia, the hammock cradle seems to be an Iranian-Arab element, whilst the stationary hanging cradle in a frame points towards India.

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In the Kurdish *byeška* the child was only kept in and fastened to it at night, and in the two other types of cradle only by day as long as it slept. The child awake was carried around by bigger sisters or lay in the arms of sitting women. Out in the villages one always saw the slightly larger girls with a smaller child on their backs. Even a sick child, in one case a very sick child, is considered better placed

Fig. 91. Mother and child. Evening in a home viewed through the eyes of a 13 years old boy. Sulaimani.

[532]

842 The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to
[595] neighbours' pressure, to initiate negotiations about one wife more[56], who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes[57],
[189] by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fasting ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

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304 *Circumcision*, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the
852 Coran. According to Juynboll[58] the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Østrup[59], circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 5 days old.

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852 *Naming ceremony*. In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the
553 child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a *mulla*, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Havva (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'fer, Karim, Kemâl, Mahmud, Majid,*
[551] *Muhammad, Qâsim, Sa'id, Sardûr, Wahid, Walid*, and for girls: *Aja, 'Afiya, Gulla, Maliha, Nâhid, Nâhila, Sahiha.*

551 In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname[60]. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Taifûr. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Sheikh Taifûr* and his brother, usually called "*Mâm(a)-Xâl(a)*", but whose real name was *Abdul Qâdir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Rakawa in concert. There was also a third brother, *Kâkâ Rîzâ* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rîzâ*, who owned the village of Sargalu. The eldest son of Sheikh Taifûr was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardûr*. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth[61] and Lees[62], both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family[63] and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name"[64]. As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness[65].

[[11] Additions like those, used in Arabia and Iran:[66] "father to, slave of, son of ... and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

551 Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame
561 Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "khan" could be added to the name of a distinguished woman[67]. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Sheikh Taifûr's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Maliha Khan.

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858 *The Kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows
184 no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognises the child as a member of the community

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584 369 family select the prospective bride, also when the first choice is dropped, as mentioned above. It is the women who conduct the preliminary negotiations[92], which are concluded by a meeting between the men of the two families implicated.

[671] The girl can refuse to agree to the union, but this, I was told, is regarded as a great insult. According to the law the father and grandfather have as *wali* the right to marry off a minor daughter or granddaughter without obtaining her permission[93].

562 584 In the meantime a Kurdish girl can oppose the concept of marriage itself. My interpreter, an extremely intelligent girl, hoped to be able to continue her education abroad, a thing the city authorities persisted in holding out as a possibility, and therefore did not wish to marry for the time being. I did not come across any example of a father or mother forcing a daughter into marriage. There was, on the other hand, a case where a father had forced a young son to marry a girl fifteen years older. To avoid this forced marriage the young man fled to the mountains, but in vain. The father got his way. Whilst in Kurdistan I met the woman in question and the fruits of the marriage, a little girl; the husband I only saw at a distance.

582 In regard to the age at which marriage is contracted, there is the case of my interpreter's half-sister, who became a bride at the age of twelve. Asked if she could consider being married, she remained silent[94]. I was told that she had been big and strong for her age. Her two children had been born when she was 16 and 18, and she and they looked quite healthy and sound. In Halabja I lived in a home where the then 25 year old wife had been married at the age of 11, her husband then having been 25[95]. Her first child was born 6–7 years after the marriage. It was said that in the districts around

[221] Tawella, to which many families moved out for most of the summer on account of the work in the mulberry plantations there, and adolescent boys and girls picked fruit together, that, failing the protection afforded to their virginity by a home, it was common for girls to be married before reaching puberty. In Balkha brides of 11–12 were mentioned. Here the reason for the early entry into the married state was said to be the shortage of adult women, but it was also averred that the first child was not born for 6–7 years after the wedding. Maternity before the girl is full-grown, as met with in India, does not therefore, appear to be usual in Southern Kurdistan.

It might be expected that a girl of 11 or 12 would as a housewife be little use to a man, but my interpreter told me that a girl of this age—to us but a child—although completely uneducated and illiterate, was on the other hand domestically accomplished and fully aware of the behaviour expected of her in her new home. In consequence no major difficulties existed. As a parallel to this we have what

[171] Kaberry[96] says about the conditions of the Australian aborigines. Here a child bride of 9–11 is fully trained in the pattern of behaviour expected of her, has some sexual knowledge, is prepared for her wifely duties, and therefore cannot in any way be compared with a European schoolgirl of a similar age.

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585 *The marriage contract.* A church or civil wedding is the main feature of a marriage contracted in the West, and conditions in the event of divorce, death of the spouse, and the wife's economic position during marriage are not laid down at that time. The drawing up of a marriage settlement and separate estate are still not regarded as really good form, and, despite the large percentage, divorce is not taken into consideration. Questions of inheritance are also arranged later, if at all.

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585 114 581 071 the deed is drawn up at the judge's residence and not in a mosque, which is a place of prayer and not (like Christian churches) a form of registration office. The same view is to be found in Blackman[106], who says that among Muslims no religious ceremony takes place—marriage is not a sacrament. Levy also states that "in Islām marriage is a secular contract and not a religious rite"[107]. This is not in accord with Kurdish conditions. That the drawing up of a marriage settlement here seems to be covered by religious precepts seems to be indicated by, for example, the presence of the *mulla*. According to Juynboll[108] matrimonial law and the rights of inheritance are generally considered more or less connected with religion, and within the dual legal system, spiritual and temporal, matrimonial and family rights fall to the spiritual judge. Islam is more than a religion, it is a whole system comprising all aspects of human life[109]. It would be highly remarkable if the drawing up of the marriage settlement should be a temporal act in view of the fact that the justification for the paying of a bride price is found in the Corsn[110]. Rather can it be said that the drawing up of a marriage settlement within the *shāfi'i* rite of Islām, which the Kurds follow, is an act connected with religion. What on the other hand is distinct from the drawing up of the marriage settlement is the consummation of the marriage, which failing a better expression, what can be termed "the wedding". It has nothing to do either with the secular or spiritual authorities, being a purely private affair that sooner or later, often years after the drawing up of the marriage settlement, takes place in the form of a family festival with friends. This occasion, as opposed to the drawing up of the marriage settlement, can be said to be a secular, and particularly a quite private, action.

581 771

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584 369 *The social intercourse of engaged couples* in the event of prospective spouses knowing each other.

In the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani I met one example of a couple who knew each other before marriage and had themselves chosen each other. This, of course, is the exception and was due entirely to their milieu.

The girl in the case was the 23 year old sister of my interpreter. Both she and the young man in question were primary schoolteachers who had met as colleagues and fallen in love. When the young man realised his interest in the girl he had applied to my interpreter, also a schoolteacher, as his family lived outside in one of the village areas from which no woman, mother or sister, was able to act as go-between. He told her that "he would like to be admitted to her family", and asked if she would act as his advocate and place the matter before her father. This had been done and the marriage settlement had been drawn up a year before my stay in Kurdistan. The wedding festival was imminent and took place whilst I lived with the family. In the months prior to the wedding I was able to study the pattern of behaviour applying to former colleagues now engaged, and the position of the prospective groom in the family he was to enter.

By the marriage settlement the young man became a member of the family to such an extent that he was able, with her 13 year old half-brother, to accompany my interpreter to the village of Topzawa where she was to live with me in the sheikh's house. The night he spent there in order to act as an important escort and to investigate whether conditions there were sufficiently re-assuring, he was able to sleep in the same room as her half-brother and herself. My interpreter explained that she might

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With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a representative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two women: a female relative who must not be the mother[131], and the woman who later should return to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding, which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote childbearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour, where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place in accordance with Islamic law[132]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[133]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men. The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semicircle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[134]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in Iran[135] and from the Bakhtiari[136], where its similarity to the Greek Arnaoutika is pointed out. However, both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt, whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in this group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in a cloth stuck up under his waistband. The drum[137] hung on a cord round the druminer's neck and was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together. The clarinet[138] had a funnel-shaped head, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topzawa one evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in European music, seventeen tones being used instead of our twelve. There was no polyphony or

The wedding

Of the two women who had accompanied the bride, the aunt was to stay in the new house with her for a week; the other woman was to keep guard outside the bridal chamber and return to Jabbūnah, whence the bride was come, the following morning taking with her the bridal sheet with the proof of the bride's virginity[48]. It was said that if the bride proved not to be a virgin, she would be killed by one of her own male relatives.

A festive meal similar to that served to the men was partaken of by the women. This was carried in, on large, common eating trays. The women ate first and then the children. When the meal was over the women gathered.

The women's rôle in the village milieu thus comprises the reception and welcome of the bride, and the witnessing of certain ceremonies when the bridegroom first meets his bride. These ceremonies include the release of a fowl over the bride and a blow on the head delivered by the groom. The women's rôle then includes a common meal that ends the festivities. The bride's mother-in-law bids her welcome, though the bride's mother does not accompany her daughter when she leaves the house and has no part in the reception of the bride and her handing over to the bridegroom. In her place is a female relative and the woman who is to bring back evidence of the bride's virginity.

In regard to the fowl released over the bride's head, it was said that earlier the bird was killed, but now they just let it loose. In this connection it may be of interest that Granqvist reports about the Arabs in Palestine that at some places an animal is sacrificed[49] when the bridal couple enters the bridegroom's house.

Granqvist also mentions that according to Arab custom, entry into a house is always an important matter, as all kinds of spirits, demons, jinns and so forth attempt to slip in, too, and naturally a bride's first entry into her new home is a specially delicate affair[50]. In regard to Islamized Turks in Chinese and Russian Turkestan, Kruhe calls attention to the remains of Shamanism and ancestral worship, and refers to the preceremony measures connected with the entrance of the bride into the husband's family. Quoting Grunzel, Kruhe writes: "Es handelt sich sich darauf vor den Hausdämon, die Furcht, davon Sippenkultverband ausschliessen sind in einen sorgen, den der Sippe den Hausen, entzunehmen"[51]. In my opinion this ceremony falls under "Rites de passage"[52]; the blow I witnessed is given with enormous gravity and thoroughness by the bridegroom to the still unknown young woman, whilst his male relatives afford him symbolical support by ranging themselves alongside him and in helping him to smoothe his heavy stick.

The bride knew what was awaiting her when, supported by her two companions she approached the entrance door to the house. Everybody appeared to be taking part in an act of the utmost seriousness, an act that in the regard of bride and bridegroom might result in a fractured skull but which they had no possibility of avoiding, an act not performed before the male group but the assembled women's group. Kruhe's analysis can probably be accepted: that it is here a matter of a ceremony, the purpose of which is to release the bride from her own family and to accept her in the road's, as she crosses the threshold of her future home and before the first sexual intercourse takes place. Granqvist refers to the fact that in Palestine the bridegroom gives his bride three blows on the head which she places on the door before entering her future home. In notes, Granqvist quotes a number of statements by other writers in support of the contention that the blows are a symbolic act that are to secure

the bride was punished for not having guarded the honour of the family—not by her injured bridegroom, but by men of her own family—she would be taken to be examined by the women gynaecologist to discover whether the lacking proofs of virginity were due to some physical irregularity. It was stated that the seams of white cotton material that comprised the sexual, detachable, bridal shoes would be kept by the bride's family for a year as proof for the bride's in-laws if any doubt should be raised about the bride's honour. "About a year" means to about the birth of the first child. After that the bride shoes would be washed and included in the household linen.

In view of the very definite modesty prevalent among Kurds, and the aversion to any display of nakedness, the lack of modesty when it is a matter of first mating is quite unusually surprising. It is a public affair and must therefore be extremely embarrassing for the young woman; equally painful must it be for the young man who is expected immediately to consummate the marriage and then, his garments adjusted, to leave the field to the waiting women, who roughly drive the bride's genital opening to widen to obtain as clear a stain on the sheet as possible. I heard of no case where a married bride had been killed on her wedding morning.

Hajo[1] states that with the Kurds the law is very strict as regards the honour of women, but it seems to be the honour of married women that is concerned when he says that "a woman .... who misconducts herself, or, who is suspected on reasonable grounds of misconducting herself, must surely die; and the husband, brother or whoever is responsible for her, who fails to put her out of the way, is considered to have lost his honour, and a Kurd's whole or honour is one of his most precious possessions". From what I was told it is only the young, unmarried girls whose honour is guarded by such drastic measures.

In regard to the bridal sheet custom, Nikitine[2] says that it was falling into desuetude as early as 1922, remarking that it is "à son déclin, une pratique contraire à notre but le fit des nouveaux mariés en Orge blanc ("cyrnik"), qu'on remarque souvent aux parents de la jeune femme, comme preuve de sa virginité".

The use of the bridal sheet with the broken Lore is mentioned by Fahlbeck[3]. That the Arabs kill a young woman who does not prove the test, and that this is done by her own male relatives, is referred to by Dickson[4], though he adds that he has heard of one case where "..... the man being clandestine enough to smuggle into the bridal chamber a fresh piece of meat with blood on it, with which to rub the bed linen ....". To this can be put Shomier's information about the Arabs as long ago as 1703: that it is custom that the unfortunate bride suffers, "dans ces climats Eloignés"[5].

Polygamy and divorce. According to the Canon, provided a man's economic position allows it he may have up to four wives at a time[6], but is obliged to treat them alike and spend an equal amount of time, day and night, with each of them[7].

The husband has sole right to an immediate dissolution of the marriage by pronouncing policy "I renounce thee" or, better, "I abandon all right over thee". Until the expiration of the 'iddah-period[8] the wife cannot contract a new marriage, and during this term she is entitled to maintenance[9]. By policy a man can revise divorce himself from his wife but, should he repeat his act, can without further

DEATH

Hospitals, naturally, are to be found in provincial towns like Halabja and Sulaimani and, of course, in the larger cities in the country. In Halabja I found that the male ward only had male nurses. In the villages there was no doctor, only, for example in Sargalu, a trained male nurse with a supply of medicaments for distribution[757]. In regard to the attitude to medical assistance, my interpreter's father refused to allow a doctor to be summoned or for any of the patients in the house to be taken by cab to see one, during the outbreak of Asiatic influenza in Sulaimani in 1957. In the same house my interpreter's mother refused to seek medical aid for rheumatic pains in the back and possibly fever. One of the daughters stood on her back whilst she lay huddled up on the floor and massaged her in this way. A child in Tuganwa with fever, who was taken to the small hospital at Dokan on the following day, was the day previous embraced by an elderly woman and smeared over the whole body with freshly-churned butter.

The sick bed in the home is only used when the patient cannot stand up; even influenza patients in Sulaimani were taken on evening visits to the neighbours. For headaches they were given a bandage round the forehead[758], and sufferers often went to sleep in the house where there were guests, re-appearing later in the evening. During the influenzan epidemic, no measures were taken to isolate the eating and drinking utensils of the sick from those of the rest of the family. Spitting was much resorted to in the courtyard, on the clay roof and on the clay floor[759]. Broken arms and legs were ill tended, grew together badly, resulting in wie-shaped limbs, cases of which I observed with small children both in Sulaimani and Serkan. There was no snake serum in the villages. A harvester in Tuganwa and a boy in Balkha who were bitten by snakes were taken by mule and later by hired car or bus a long distance to hospital for treatment. Spraying with DDT was used against vermin in the part of Kurdistan I visited. Three letters painted on the walls of houses indicated that this had been done. According to Wilkinson, this spraying is done annually in the villages[760].

Whether the sick nor the dying were isolated even if it was possible to arrange a sickroom in the home.

Burial. No deaths took place among adults in the homes I stayed in in Kurdistan, but outside the mosque at Mirin Rostam I had an opportunity to study the two objects used for the washing and transportation of the dead. The one was an oblong, very large knee-high table with a very heavy top and thick legs on which the corpse was washed. This was lent out for three days to the home where death had taken place and was then returned to the mosque—an understandable arrangement as in this cultural pattern the table is not a settled institution, but an exception. By the side of this large wet table stood a bier, an oblong, wooden crate with a flat base, low legs and two short carrying poles at each end. This also belonged to the mosque. On this the body, clad in an unwove costume and wrapped in the ceremonial, but without a coffin, was transported to the burial ground outside the town[761]. The same type is found in Arabia[762] and Egypt[763].

Two children's deaths, a little girl's and a little boy's, took place among the people I lived with. Even though it was a matter of a child's funeral I observed certain differences, which have their parallels in adult funerals. As soon as death had taken place the child was taken up from its cradle

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

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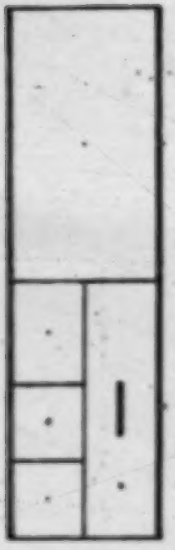

Fig. 94. Diagram. Ceremonies made out of one length of material: a: the outer wrapping; b: the unsewn shirt; c–d: the two head coverings; e: washing gloves; f: selvedges used for binding.

blessing given to the dead in accordance with Allāh's rite[194]. Thereafter, still only accompanied by men[195], the little girl was borne out to the burial ground, a bare hill outside Sakāwand.

In addition to the lament for the dead, another heathen feature was retained at this funeral. Whilst the child was being dressed in the poncho and swathed in the ceremonies and prayer rug, which in this case acted as bier, a fowl was caught in the yard. It seemed to me it was a cock, but I may have been mistaken and it was a large hen. Blackman[196] relates concerning the *fellāhīn* in Egypt that: "when a child dies, a hen is killed ....". The bird was decapitated, and it was said that the head was to be buried with the dead child in order to avert further deaths in the family, where, a fortnight earlier, the child's maternal uncle had died, for which reason the women in the house were wearing black and white chequered material in their costumes as a sign of mourning.

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966 The little boy died in my interpreter's house in Sakāwand between night and morning. He was immediately taken out of his cradle and placed on a mattress in the courtyard covered by his mother's black *abā*. The cradle was at once stowed away on a pile of firewood that bounded the cookhouse on the courtyard side. Despite the early hour a man was sent to the *bāzār* for some white cotton material for ceremonies. It was said that in cases of death the owner of the booth can be called out even in the middle of the night, as it is essential that new, unwashed and unused material is used for the ceremonies. As the child was a boy, the washing had to be performed by a man—in this case a mullā

4: Hansen E-S (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

summoned from the mosque. He was assisted by the child's maternal uncle, *xal*. The washing was done, as had been the case with the little girl, unseen by the mother and close female relatives. In this house it was performed in the bath room. Being a woman, I was unable to see what the child was placed upon, but the body was dressed in the antechamber of the room on a bench there. In this case, the death involving a male, the material for ceruments and washing glove was torn into pieces by a man, the uncle, though the washing glove was also here sewn by one of the women (half-sister of the dead child). Neither the mother nor any other woman of the house broke into lamentation, and no sacrifice of any animal was made, but just as with the little girl, the child glided out of its mother's world from the moment the corpse washer had lifted it up and carried it into the bathroom. Later, it was carried to the mosque wrapped, as the little girl had been, in a prayer rug outside the ceruments. In the grave the body lies on the right side with the face pointing in the direction towards Mekka. The dead are covered with stones, and then with earth in a flattened oblong mound. Two flat, roughly-hewn oblong slabs—one at the head and one at the feet[191]—are raised. The burial grounds outside the villages and provincial towns were, as a rule, marked by one or more big trees, the only trees of any great size in the landscape. Burial places looked bare and barren, like those in Arabia. In 1894 Ehtrup[192] stressed the great difference between the dreary, naked burial grounds of the Arabs, devoid of vegetation, and those of the Turks, which are planted and have sculptured gravestones, whereas the Arab stones, like those in Kurdish burial grounds, are rough, undecorated, and without inscriptions. According to what I was told by my interpreter, a relative's grave is visited for five years after the death. The women went out there every Friday, a thing I did not notice in respect of the children's deaths. After that the grave is forgotten.

The religious and mourning meal for friends and acquaintances referred to by Juynboll[193], customary in Islamic areas, was not given in the case of the two children's deaths. The day the child died, no food was cooked in the house, and the only thing obtainable was bread and water melon. Nikitine mentions that among Kurds a special pastry[194] was issued three days after the funeral to neighbours and friends. This was only done in the case of an adult death, not with a child, a thing I both noticed and was told. Some hours after the death visits of condolence begin. They are made by women, always without jewellery. These visits continued for three days. As part of the mourning ceremony the bathroom that had been used for the washing of the corpse was closed, and neither heated nor used for the next eight days. The period of mourning for a child is fourteen days, during which time the cinema is not visited and picnics are not attended. For an adult member of the family the mourning period was said to last for two to three years, visits of condolence being paid for a week. During the mourning years visits may be paid to other families in cases of deaths, but otherwise people remain at home. Women wear black or dark coloured dresses, and any marriage is celebrated as quietly as possible. The sudden death of an old man at Topzawa the day before a triple wedding resulted in the men's dance, otherwise obligatory, being dropped.

To sum up the most typical features of Kurdish funerals in Iraq: They take place immediately after death. No death certificate is issued if the deceased is an infant. The ceruments must be of new, white cotton material, which even in the middle of the night can be purchased in the *sûq*, the owner of the booth being summoned for this purpose. Girls are washed by women and boys by men; in both

778 nerated ... the credulous ... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "être sans couture" is mentioned by Masuḥ[42].

789 778 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints' graves, Nikitine[43] writes: "... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Feilberg, that there may be a parallel between these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

[191] There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Maunsell[44], Østrup[45], Feilberg[46] and Soane[47], Østrup[48], who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient resurrection ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

755 782 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-cut leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

[369] [189] [565]

[illegible]	[illegible] village	[illegible] Village	[illegible] town	[illegible] town
Visible amulets	+	+		+
Encased amulets	+	+		+
Holy hand	+	+		
Saints' grave			+	+
Rag tree	+			+
Rag poles	+			+

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

turban, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On this occasion it replaced the white or coloured head veil. Nikitine refers to the use of this reddish-yellow veil cast over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le visage de la fiancée est couvert avec une mouchoir rouge pour que ... les jours de sa vie familiale qui commencera soient rouges (c'est-à-dire heureux)"[6]. Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as is also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it must not be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[7], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that reach up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Granqvist in the case of Palestinian Arabs[8]. This veil is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sash, thrown over the bride's head, hiding the face, whilst a caftan hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the ochre-coloured veil was used in the other feminine milieus.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent red-ochre "bridal" veil, used in the humble village milieu, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the escorting cars were closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[9].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's car is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this deficiency. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil seen in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the woman's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an appurtenant over-garment, the Arab *abā* worn as a cowl. I mention this because in Bosnia in 1938 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the over-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognised by it[10].

Sure 24, verses 30-31[11] of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Topzawa this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sargalu and Serkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind *mulla*[16], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependant. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in an elastic form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Halabja's first lady, Lady Adela, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers.

The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea of "my house is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[17]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian *fellahin*: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect ... and indicates the value that the men put upon their womanfolk"[18]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[19] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Muhammadan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

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way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being, as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc., brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family house or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn. For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Muslim women in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Goizha School for Girls, established in 1956.

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was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate how a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter received from one of the British engineers at the Dokan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our visit ... almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there ... it is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[29] says of the Egyptian *fellahin* woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely in subjection to the male sex, in practise they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands ... Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine milieus within the area investigated evince the following picture (see diagram).

Distribution of culture elements inside the four milieus.

Culture elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and *abd*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

198 271 562 particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 148). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dramatics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyer band system outside the home, religion- and the peace of mind that goes with it—will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

562 171 If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

When the woman's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children— there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even to-day in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[43], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

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583 562 114 The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—in this case in Egypt—is stressed by Granqvist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the *fellāhīn* women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

but respect. This and the above use of *nanna* is however in no real sense of the term a classificatory usage, any more than is 'sis' in colloquial American or *farbror* in Swedish, the latter having connotations very parallel to *mam*. As a potential father-in-law, ones *mam* is an important relative, and a friendly relationship will secure one's right to his daughter and release from brideprice obligations.

An interesting contrast to Kurdish intimacy with FaBr and his descendants is evident from Afghan usage, where the word for MoBr.'s children is synonymous with friends and FaBr.'s children with enemies, this in spite of a probably otherwise similar social structure.[1]) The general explanation for such strained relations with FaBr.'s relatives lies in the potential conflict connected with inheritance, where MoBr.'s children are less important as competitors. The prevalence of FaBrDa marriage in Kurdish villages undoubtedly serves to gloss over these tensions.

Affinal relations are, as far as the male is concerned, of secondary importance, and the basic terms for spouse's father, mother, adult brother and adult sister suffice. The woman, except for these terms, adopts the kinship designations of her husband, usually with the given name of the person appended. Children are called by their given names. — The general nature of in-law relationships is indicated by the proverb: *Khoda bida mergim, zawa neka bergim* = God let me die, rather than be dependent on son-in-law (or brother-in-law).

Certain affinal relations are designated by suffixing *-zbin* (woman) to the term for their agnatically related husband. The resulting terms, *amoxbin* (= wife-of-FaBr) etc., seem to be used as actual kinship terms. The parallel usage of 'husband-of-so-and-so' is purely descriptive and does not constitute a term in itself. Son's wife is called «bride» and husband of sister and daughter is called «groom».

A striking feature of the Kurdish kinship system is the small number of basic terms, totalling only twelve. The group of relatives covered by these terms is a bilateral kin group, and includes all individuals in the elementary families of which ego or ego's parents

[1]) I am indebted to Prof. Morgenstierne for drawing my attention to this contrast.

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Unless a certain sum of money is paid, all young male citizens of Iraq are liable to two years of military training and service. This is much resented by most villagers, and they attempt to avoid being called up. According to the *Meskjin*, the Hamawands have an arrangement with the police whereby they give the names of all *Meskjin* men in the two village who are liable for such service, in return for being left in peace themselves. Thus, it is said, the fighting strength of the *Meskjin* is constantly kept down.

The *Meskjin*, on the other hand, are accused of manipulating the religious brotherhood of Derwishes for political purpose, so as to organize all the *Meskjin* of the neighboring villages in a movement of resistance. To counteract this influence, the Hamawand *Agha* is at pains to expose the derwishes as fraudulent, and attempts to enhace the position of the local mullah, the recognized leader of the local mosque. — The final verdict, however, rests with the Land Settlement Comission, an institution the integrity of which few persons choose to question.

The rigidity of the Kurdish tribal system is here clearly illustrated, and might profitably be contrasted to that of the Nuer, as described by Evans-Pritchard (1940). The Nuer have, in spite of extensive conquests and various vicissitudes, retained a system of patrilineal *exo*gamous lineages as the basis of their political organization. These lineages however are *not* corporate localized groups, but are conceptually identified with certain areas, where they tend to form the organizing core of the local villages. Through a system of adoption of conquered Dinka tribesmen to specific lineages, and by reckoning descent through females, a larger community is built around this core, based on «sociological» kinship. Among the Kurds, on the other hand, the general practice of FaBrDa marriage and other close family endogamy makes any initial *rapprochement* impossible between conqueror and conquered, and encourages caste separation. Furthermore, kinship through female links is given no political recognition. The principle of «sociological» kinship is unfamiliar and would be in conflict with Islamic doctrine — the kinship terminology describes actual, genealogical distance, and practices of adoption into lineages would be unacceptable. The only way two groups could fuse in the

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

Chapter VIII.

Conclusion

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The types of Kurdish social organization described above seem, even apart from their local cultural dress, somewhat different from those usually reported by anthropologists. Especially the combination in the «tribal» organization of a lineage system, close family endogamy, and a kinship terminology without unilineal emphasis poses some interesting problems.

It has been suggested (e. g. Murdock 1949, p. 234) that this Kurdish situation reflects the breakdown of a previous organization based on exogamous sib groups, following the introduction of Islam, with the Koranic permission, or even encouragement, to marry close kin. Clearly, this explanation is not sufficient, considering how fundamental the pattern seems in the Kurdish tribal organization, and the unusually high incidence of FaBrDa marriage as compared to other Moslem communities.

As far as the historical and comparative material goes, there is little reason to believe that the tendency towards close family endogamy is an Islamic innovation in the area. In appraising the historical material, it is important, as Luzbetak (1951) emphasizes, to distinguish between (a) classical centers of endogamy with examples of brother-sister marriage in royal lineages (Egypt, Sumer, Elam, Arabia, Persia), connected with a tremendous elaboration and emphasis on hereditary prestige, and (b) areas where close family endogamy was a basic feature of the social organization, and operated

7: Barth E-5 (1951) 1953 MA11 Kurd MA11

on a village level. Eliminating the cases of type (a), there is still ample evidence of endogamous patterns of non-Islamic or pre-Islamic origin, especially in the Caucasus-Armenian area, of which the Kurdish mountains are geographically an extension. The customary law of Daghestan prescribes close kin marriage, and explicitly forbids the marriage with an outsider (ibid). The early ecclasiastical laws of Armenia attack next-of-kin marriages with great vehemence (ibid, p. 54), and such practices caused great concern among the early Christian missionaries, till they were eventually rooted out. Thus, rather than regard the Kurdish combination of patterns as a labile state produced by cross-cultural mixture, it would seem reasonable to grant the Kurdish «tribal» organization considerable antiquity as a stable variant or *type* of lineage organization, of some theoretical interest.

On a structural level, it can be argued that a pattern of FaBrDa marriage serves to reinforce the political implications of the lineage system. Solidarity to the patrilineal descent group in abstracto is minimal. Close family endogamy results in a direct correspondance between lineage segments and local groups, giving the descent groups a clear territorial framework in which the lineage organization can function. On the individual level, a man's political position and power depends in the last instance on the number of riflemen he can muster. However, only co-lineage males can be expected to give such political support. A pattern of FaBrDa marriage contributes to prevent alienation of immediate collateral lines, and re-affirms the old man's leading position in relation to his agnatic nephews, thereby vesting him with control over a larger agnatic group of males.

Where the lineage is found in other areas as a corporate group, it is usually connected with a kinship terminology of the «lineage» type, which, through unilineal emphasis and classificatory extensions contributes in defining and delimiting these corporate groups. Kurdish kinship terms, on the other hand, are purely «descriptive» in that they measure geneological distance between near kin. Nor do they show any unilineal emphasis. In other words, they do not contribute in any way to the definition of unilineal corporate groups. However, when this terminology is seen in combination with the

8: Leach E-5 (1938) 1940 MA11 Kurd MA11
Rowanduz

CHAPTER 1

Introductory

121 The following account is based upon a five weeks field survey carried out during the summer of 1938. It was intended to follow this up with an intensive study of one locality over a period of twelve months. Political developments in Europe made this project impracticable at the time and the scheme has now been abandoned.

For the facilities afforded me in Iraq I am particularly indebted to Mr.C.J.Edmonds, Adviser to the Iraq Government, Captain Vyvyan Holt, Oriental Secretary at the British Embassy Baghdad, and His Excellency Ahmad Beg i Tawfiq Beg, Mutasarrif of Erbil, in whose province this research was carried out.

The justification for publishing the somewhat superficial data contained in this monograph lies in the absence of any strictly comparable material elsewhere. The general form of Kurdish social organisation as here described is probably fairly typical of that of a large number of Mohammedan peoples scattered throughout the mountainous areas of western Asia. Concerning such peoples there is at present available very little ethnographic material of any kind and the postulate that the Kurdish form of society is typical is put forward as an hypothesis open to correction in the light of further study.

121 Of more immediate relevance is the close correlation that undoubtedly exists between Kurdish social forms and those of Arabia in
• 171 general. This fact is of interest since linguistically the Kurds are of "aryan" rather than "semitic" stock. Concerning the "manners and customs" of various Bedouin and Semitic groups there is of course an enormous mass of literature available, some of it of the highest scientific quality, but the emphasis in every case has been to make an historical record of ethnographic fact rather than to study any particular group as a society in functioning existence at the present
114 time. The work of Jaussen, Musil, Lane, Drower and Murray to name but
113 a few, though admirably detailed, is by modern standards somewhat lifeless, since it describes the pattern of various cultural norms without, as a rule, showing their social significance or demonstrating the fundamental interrelationship between them. The earlier studies of Robertson-Smith, Frazer and Westermarck were entirely synthetic in character and gave no true picture of the functioning of any single

* A. Jaussen - Les Coutumes des Arabs au Pays de Moab
A. Musil - Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins
E.W.Lane - Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians
E.S.Drower - The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran
G.W.Murray - Sons of Ishmael